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ABSTRACT

Research suggests that public schools and their authoritarian organizational structure contribute to adolescent alienation, which in turn fosters gang membership. This paper examines alienation and gang membership among eighth-graders in a rural middle school in south central Texas. All 147 students in grade 8 completed a modified version of the Dean Alienation Scale that included questions on demographic data and gang membership. Results indicate that gang affiliation was significantly related to higher levels of normlessness and powerlessness, but was not related to feelings of isolation. Males felt significantly more normless than females. Although Hispanics made up nearly 80 percent of the school population, they felt more powerless to influence their education than did Anglos. Hispanics with little knowledge of gangs felt more normless than Hispanics with extensive gang knowledge, while the reverse was true for Anglos. Suggestions are offered for nurturing a nonalienating school environment for all ethnic groups. Contains 22 references and 7 data tables. (SV)

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Running head: MIDDLE SCHOOL ALIENATION

The Alienation of Rural Middle School Students: Implications for Gang Membership

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Abstract

This survey study was designed to investigate the perceptions of alienation among rural gang members. One hundred and forty-seven eighth graders at one rural middle school were assessed with the Dean Alienation Scale to measure their perceptions of isolation, normlessness, and powerlessness in a school context. Results indicate that gang factors were associated with significantly higher levels of normlessness and powerlessness. Isolation was the only alienation subscale to show no significant difference between gang and non-gang members. In addition, male adolescents felt significantly more normless than female adolescents. And Hispanic adolescents felt more powerless than Anglo adolescents. The findings are discussed in a manner that provides insight into the perception of gang members toward powerlessness and normlessness in middle school.

The Alienation of Rural Middle School Students: Implications for Gang Membership

During middle school years, adolescents express a desire for more freedom and control over their lives. Unfortunately, adolescent expression is often suppressed in middle schools. One of the reasons for middle school suppression is to control the behavioral aspects associated with adolescence and to preserve order. By employing an authoritarian model to adolescent expression and behavior, middle school educators may unwittingly contribute to the problems they attempt to minimize, in particular, adolescent alienation and its relationship to gang membership.

In general, middle school educators tend to rationalize their institution's lack of contribution to gang membership. Consequently, many middle school educators fail to recognize the rigidity of their school's bureaucratic structure, especially for the adolescent. The adolescent is expected to assimilate the school's normative structure, whereas the school as a whole yields little to accommodate individual needs. The school's failure to accommodate multiple value structures has been identified as one source for gang membership (Calabrese & Noboa, 1995). By denying the role of schools in the alienation of adolescents, educators become unconscious contributors (rather than inhibitors) to adolescent dysfunction.

One consequence of youth dysfunction is reflected in the growing numbers and spreading beyond urban boundaries of gang

membership (Harrington-Lueker, 1990; Tursman, 1989). Adolescents are sending a clear message - we feel powerless and left out (Mathews, 1992). It is no coincidence that gang recruitment occurs at the middle school level (Tursman, 1989). Faced with the complexities of adolescence and the dramatic changes associated with middle school and the modern family structure (i.e., latchkey children, growing poverty, overcrowding, racial conflict, and a sense of hopelessness in youth), a growing number of adolescents are attracted to gang life (Martinet, 1993).

The typical gang member was described as an adolescent with problems (Klein, 1971). The "gang banger" that Klein described in 1971 is still representative of gang members in the 1990's. Although some researchers believe that gang membership is being prolonged into adulthood due to socioeconomic despair, there is little empirical evidence to support such a contention (Lasley, 1992). Thus, gang affiliation is still associated with adolescence.

As Calabrese and Noboa (1995) asserted, one of the attractive elements of gangs is the counterculture which underlines its existence. This counterculture reflects a viable alternative choice for alienated adolescents who are dissatisfied with dominant American culture and its associating norms. The decision to participate in gang activities has been explained by an analysis of decision making strategies employed by prospective gang members (Calabrese & Noboa, 1995). A number of reasons have been put forth to explain why adolescents join gangs. Some of

these reasons include: the desire to belong to a stable unit; the desire to be accepted; the sense of group and individual empowerment; the need for love, attention, and respect; and the sharing of a value structure (Calabrese & Noboa, 1995; Martinet, 1993; Mathews, 1992).

In response to increased gang activity, educators have taken a band-aid approach toward addressing the issue by instituting rules and policies forbidding gang related attire, paraphernalia, and communication. Contrary to curbing the gang problem, these newly instituted school rules encourage gangs to become more active in recruitment and creative in their images of identification. Unbeknownst to many middle school educators, gang leaders are often bright and creative individuals. An example of gang creativity is illustrated by gang members' awareness of school rules on earlier generation gang attire. Instead of facing confrontation over forbidden attire, gang members continually switch to items which are often associated with family oriented characters like Disney figures to identify their gang identification. The question then arises, should educators continue to ban items associated with gangs, even if those items have traditionally been a part of mainstream family life? This may explain the underlying reasons for the movement across the nation to adopt uniform dress codes in schools. Whether the implementation of uniform dress codes would effectively address the safety issue, there is little empirical evidence to support such a contention. This predicament raises another question: are

educators addressing the central problem underlying adolescent alienation and its relationship to gang participation or just the overt symptoms of it?

Studies involving adolescent alienation have focused on deviant behavior (Clark, 1992), urban delinquency (Rhoden & Fischer, 1992) at-risk youth in high school (Firestone, 1989; Newmann, 1981), school organizational power structures (Strauss, 1974) and a variety of other independent variables. To date, past alienation studies have not addressed whether adolescent gang members are more alienated than other adolescents in a school context.

Alienation, an abstract concept brought about by environmental and/or economical conditions, has been used to explain deviant behavior (Calabrese, 1987). Due to its abstract nature, alienation has been a difficult construct to assess empirically. Alienation has been viewed as a series of related constructs, each representing a piece of the total picture. Dean (1961) defined alienation as an affective construct consisting of three components: isolation, normlessness, and powerlessness. Dean's conception of alienation was based on a general perception of alienation versus a context specific view of alienation. Thus, isolation refers to a lonely feeling. Adolescents who feel isolated tend to be disconnected from their peers in school. Normlessness is associated with a person whose value system is inconsistent with school norms (i.e., getting good grades, attending class, no behavioral problems, being apart of the

in-crowd, etc.). Normless adolescents perceive themselves, and believe others perceive them as being different in a negative way. Powerlessness represents an inability to influence one's educational choices. Powerless adolescents tend to rationalize any effort to achieve an educational goal as a waste of time.

Adolescent alienation has been attributed to the erosion in traditional institutions such as the family, church, and school (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). Others have cited the organizational structure of public schools as the primary factor for adolescent alienation (Ornstein, 1981; Rafky, 1979; Rafalides & Hoy, 1971). Another model for adolescent alienation inferred alienation to be a personal and situational phenomena (Calabrese, 1987). Common to all these studies is the belief that schools contribute to adolescent alienation.

The purpose of this study was to determine if eighth grade adolescents who self-identified themselves as gang members had significantly higher levels of alienation than non-gang affiliated adolescents in a rural middle school context. The investigator hypothesized that factors related to gangs would display higher levels of alienation than non-gang factors. If the hypothesis is confirmed, the implications for current practices in rural middle schools would be substantial in terms of potential changes to the school environment. This finding would also provide a partial explanation for gang recruitment at the middle school level.

Methodology

Participants

One hundred forty-seven eighth grade rural middle school students participated in this study. The sample represented the entire eighth grade of one rural middle school which was experiencing a problem with gang activity. The rural middle school was located approximately twenty miles outside a major metropolitan city in South Central Texas. The population of the rural community was approximately four thousand. The participating school district had two elementary schools, one middle school, and one high school. Some of the demographic characteristics of study participants are presented in Table 1.

Instrument

The Dean Alienation Scale is a 24-item five point Likert-type scale which has been widely used to assess levels of alienation with a variety of school groups ranging from adolescent students to teachers and administrators. The instrument is divided into three subscales: isolation, normlessness, and powerlessness. The cumulative score of the three subscales comprise the total alienation score. The possible range of scores for the instrument are as follows: total alienation, 0 - 120; powerlessness, 0 - 45; normlessness, 0 - 30; and isolation, 0 - 45. Higher scores on the Dean Alienation Scale represent higher levels of the construct being measured.

According to Dean (1961), the Dean Alienation Scale possesses face validity and the following internal consistency split-half

reliability coefficients: Total Alienation = .78; Isolation = .83; Normlessness = .73; and Powerlessness = .78. The instrument's content and construct validity have been examined by a panel of experts and field tested using a variety of groups under similar circumstances.

Procedure

The participants included all the eighth grade students in a rural middle school present on the date of the instrument's administration. The instrument was administered by the investigator along with teachers from the participating school. The instrument was administered during the morning homeroom class period. All of the participants completed the instrument within twenty minutes. Due to the sensitive nature of the topic, students were told to place their surveys in a large box located outside their room as they left. In order to control for readability, the complete instrument was read by the survey administrator in English, statement by statement for all participants. Each participant's level of alienation was measured using the Dean Alienation Scale (Dean, 1961). All participants were given a modified version of the Dean Alienation Scale to complete. The modifications dealt with the use of appropriate wording for the context (i.e., school environment) in which it was administered. The demographic data collected on the instrument included the subject's gender, ethnicity, and four gang related questions.

Results

The results of this study confirmed the research hypothesis that eighth grade students who were affiliated with gangs were more powerlessness and normlessness than students who were not gang members. The alienation scores in this study were derived from the Dean Alienation Scale. The six independent variables analyzed were gender, ethnicity, gang member (yes/no), desire to be in a gang (yes/no), friends in gangs (yes/no), and knowledge of gangs (yes/no). The dependent variables measured were isolation, normlessness, powerlessness, and a composite alienation score. Table 2 displays the means and standard deviations of the four dependent variables for gang and non-gang students. Analysis of the data yielded the following major findings:

1. Male eighth graders felt more normless than their female counterparts, although female eighth graders who expressed a desire to be in gangs felt more normless than male counterparts.

2. Hispanic students felt more powerless than Anglo students.

3. Gang members felt more powerless than non-gang members in school.

4. Students who had friends in gangs were more powerless than students who did not have friends in gangs.

5. Students who had greater knowledge of gangs felt more powerless and normless than students with limited gang knowledge.

6. Gang "wannabes" and members did not feel significantly different on the isolation construct when compared to their non-gang counterparts.

The six independent variables were analyzed separately using multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) techniques. The predetermined level of significance used for the present study was $p \leq .05$. The three subscales of alienation were used as dependent measures throughout the analyses.

The first analysis addressed the issue of gender. The multivariate F ratio for differentiating levels of alienation between female and male adolescents was found to be statistically significant (Wilk's lambda, $F = 3.724$, df = 3; 143, $p = .0129$). This result indicated that male eighth graders experienced higher levels of alienation than their female counterparts. A subsequent analysis of variance (ANOVA) using gender and the four dependent variables (adding total alienation as the fourth dependent measure) showed that male eighth graders felt more normless ($F(1, 145) = 8.201$, $p = .0048$). There were no significant differences in perceptions of isolation, powerlessness, and total alienation between female and male eighth graders. Table 2 shows the differing levels of alienation between female and male eighth graders.

The second analysis examined the differentiating levels of alienation between Anglos, Hispanics, and other groups not identified with the previous two (See Table 3). The multivariate F ratio for ethnicity was found to be statistically significant (Wilk's lambda, $F = 2.278$, df = 6; 284, $p = .0365$). This result indicated that Hispanics felt more alienated than Anglo eighth graders. A subsequent analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed that

Hispanics felt more powerless ($F(2, 144) = 3.283$, $p = .0403$) than their Anglo counterparts. This result shows that Hispanic students feel a heighten sense of powerlessness to influence their educational program. Further analysis of the other dependent variables revealed that there were no significant differences found in isolation, normlessness, and total alienation between Hispanic and Anglo eighth graders.

In addition to gender and ethnicity, the study examined four variables related to gang membership. The first variable examined gang membership. Unlike gender and ethnicity, an analysis of gang membership on alienation revealed nonsignificant differences (Wilk's lambda, $F = 1.541$, $df = 3; 143$, $p = .2064$) between gang and non-gang members. Gang membership means and standard deviations are presented in Table 4. Although the MANOVA yielded a nonsignificant F for gang membership, subsequent one-way factorial analyses of variance (ANOVA) were performed on the four dependent measures. It should be noted that caution should be made regarding the interpretation of secondary ANOVA results. Because the primary MANOVA F was nonsignificant, as the number of F ratios that are calculated increases, so does the likelihood of obtaining a significant ANOVA F by chance.

The results of the subsequent ANOVA indicated that there was no significant differences between gang and non-gang members regarding isolation and normlessness. These results indicate that gangs provide a climate that does not create heighten perceptions of isolation and normlessness for its membership. As a result,

gang members feel a sense of belonging and acceptance similar to what non-gang students receive within the normative structure of the traditional school system. It may be that the value of schooling for gang members is to provide a place for socialization purposes (albeit, negative socialization).

The results, however, did show that gang members felt more powerless ($F(1, 145) = 4.076$, $p = .0453$) to influence their education, and totally alienated ($F(1, 145) = 4.068$, $p = .0455$) than non-gang members. This result demonstrates that gang members feel more powerless than non-gang eighth graders to control their educational destiny. This may help explain the lack of importance gang members attribute to their education.

The second gang variable involved the notion of gang "wannabes." The examination of gang "wannabes" revealed an insignificant multivariate F ratio (Wilk's lambda, $F = 2.486$, $df = 3; 143$, $p = .0630$) between gang "wannabes" and eighth graders indicating no preference for gang membership. Although there was no significant difference found using MANOVA and the three dependent variables together, independent one-way ANOVAs found significant differences between gang "wannabes" and non-gang "wannabes" in powerlessness ($F(1, 145) = 4.668$, $p = .0324$), normlessness ($F(1, 145) = 6.369$, $p = .0127$), and total alienation ($F(1, 145) = 5.902$, $p = .0163$). Gang "wannabes" did not have a significant effect on isolation. Table 5 shows the means and standard deviations based on desirability to be in a gang.

The third gang variable analyzed the role of gang friendship

to a sense of alienation. The multivariate F Ratio found that there was a significant difference between students who had friends in gangs and those who did not have friends in gangs (Wilk's lambda, F = 3.031, df = 3; 143, p = .0314). Table 6 displays the means and standard deviations based on gang friendship. Gang friendship did not have a significant effect on isolation, normlessness, or total alienation. In contrast, a follow-up one-way ANOVA revealed that students who had friends in gangs felt more powerlessness than students with no friends in gangs (F(1, 145) = 5.519, p = .0202). This result illustrates the importance of peer friendships as a source of empowerment. Students who feel powerless tend to gravitate toward other students with similar feelings.

Finally, the results showed that there was a significant difference in alienation subscales among eighth graders who had extensive knowledge of gangs and those who had limited knowledge of gangs (Wilk's lambda, F = 2.985, df = 3; 143, p = .0333). Table 7 shows the means and standard deviations of eighth graders based on the level of gang knowledge. In particular, students with extensive knowledge of gangs had significantly higher levels of powerlessness (F(1, 145) = 6.552, p = .0115), normlessness (F(1, 145) = 6.808, p = .01), and total alienation (F(1, 145) = 7.294, p = .0077). The only alienation subscale to show an insignificant effect involving knowledge of gangs was the isolation construct.

In addition to the MANOVA and one-way ANOVA follow-ups, a two-way ANOVA examined ethnicity and knowledge of gangs. This

analysis produced an interaction between ethnicity and knowledge of gangs ($F(1, 143) = 5.925$, $p = .0162$, see Figure 1). This result indicated that Hispanic students with little knowledge of gangs and Anglos with extensive knowledge of gangs felt more normless than Hispanics with extensive knowledge of gangs and Anglos with little knowledge of gangs. This result illustrates the dichotomy between Hispanic and Anglo normative structures in a rural community.

A second 2 x 2 ANOVA examined gender and gang desirability. The main effect showed that students who desired to be apart of a gang experienced higher levels of normlessness ($F(1, 143) = 5.734$, $p = 0179$). In addition, the interaction indicated that female gang members felt higher levels of normlessness than male gang members, ($F(1, 143) = 9.29$, $p = .0027$, see Figure 2). This result illustrates the influence of gang involvement. While males are generally more normless than females as a group, the opposite is true when the gang variable is factored in.

Discussion

The results of this study suggest that eighth graders who are affiliated with gangs have significantly higher levels of alienation, in particular, a sense of powerlessness and normlessness. Although it is difficult to infer a direct cause and effect relationship between adolescent alienation and gang membership, at the minimum, the evidence indicates that students who feel a sense of powerlessness over their education and normlessness about their value structure are more susceptible to

gang association. Several possibilities exist to explain the significant differences in the perception of alienation among gang members. Two plausible explanations are posited.

First, consideration must be given to the population at hand. According to Erikson (1959), the central issue that challenges adolescents is the development of an identity. With respect to adolescent identity development, Erikson (1968) believed that successful resolution of the crisis of identity versus identity diffusion depended on how the adolescent resolved previous crises during childhood. Without successful resolution to identity formulation, gang association may represent a viable alternative for alienated adolescents.

By using Erikson's theoretical framework on adolescent identity development, middle educators may gain a better understanding of how social interactions affect adolescent alienation. In addressing adolescent identity development, middle educators should create formal and informal opportunities for adolescents to express their perceptions of the school climate. This could be accomplished by surveying all adolescents periodically to ascertain their perceptions towards alienation, as well as other issues that may be relevant to the school environment.

In addition to identity development, another explanation postulates that middle educators must recognize the importance of treating the cognitive and affective domains with equality. As Calabrese (1988) wrote, "schools are traditionally operated on the

premise that cognitive and affective education cannot receive equal priority." Unless the affective domain of adolescent alienation is addressed in a holistic manner, middle schools will continue to represent an entry point for gang association.

In addressing gender and normlessness,the results contradict earlier studies that found males to be less normless than females (Calabrese & Seldin, 1986). It should be noted here that Calabrese and Seldin worked with ninth graders in a rural high school. In this study, males were found to be more normless than females. This finding may explain why male adolescents appear to have more behavioral problems than females during middle school. One explanation may be due to the lower maturity and less conforming nature of male adolescents, in contrast, to their female counterparts. Calabrese and Seldin (1986) inferred that high schools were hostile environments for female adolescents. By extending this line of reasoning, it may be inferred that middle schools are more hostile toward male adolescents. This result provides further evidence that alienation is a construct which is context sensitive. Males may feel more normless in middle school, but females may feel more normless in high school.

The higher levels of normlessness for gang related variables confirms Calabrese and Noboa's (1995) notion of a gang counterculture which adopts alternative values. The only variable unaffected by normlessness was the influence of peers in gangs. Contrary to popular belief, friends in gangs did not affect one's sense of normlessness. This result represents another prime

example of the situational nature of alienation. In this case, an adolescent may not feel a sense of normlessness, although they have friends who are in gangs (and do feel a sense of normlessness).

Like normlessness, adolescents who are susceptible to gang related factors share a common sense of powerlessness. Alienated youth tend to gravitate toward images of power. One of the perceived elements of gang life is a sense of power. Gang members feel a sense of individual and group power to influence not only their own lives, but to create an image of power through the use of intimidation and fear. Underlying this overt display of power is a weak foundation based on powerlessness. Consequently, the powerless construct illustrates the disjuncture that gang members feel in and out of schools.

To minimize adolescents' sense of normlessness and powerlessness, middle educators need to use their community as a catalytic lens to make learning more experiential and therefore more powerful (Theobald & Nachtigal, 1995). By integrating the school environment with relevant pieces of community life, adolescents will better identify with their learning environment and feel less alienated.

An unexpected finding derived from this study demonstrated how extensive the powerlessness construct is for Hispanic students in a predominantly Hispanic populated school. Since seventy-nine percent of the sample was composed of Hispanic students, these findings tentatively support the institutional notion of schools

being hostile environments for minority students. Viewed from a macro/institutional level, minority students feel more powerlessness. This finding is significant since the study was conducted at a minority majority school. If minority students feel powerless in this context, it's reasonable to infer that minority students feel even more powerless in schools where they are true minorities. To nurture a non-alienating environment across ethnic groups, middle educators should consider the following recommendations:

1. Middle schools should actively recruit and implement procedures to retain qualified minority teachers to serve as role models. By recruiting minority teachers and administrators, middle schools enhance the ideals of cultural pluralism and create opportunities for minority adolescents to identify with the school environment.

2. To minimize powerlessness, middle educators should restructure the school environment to emphasize student empowerment through cooperative and collaborative ways toward learning.

3. Middle schools should seek ways to actively interact with all adolescents through the creation of smaller, more personalized organizational units where students feel secure to discuss issues which concern them. This could involve focus groups with community members serving as mentors.

Finally, as the results indicated, isolation had no significant effect on any of the independent variables studied.

This finding is not surprising since gang membership represents an opportunity for those who feel isolated to be part of a group. For some adolescents who feel alienated, gangs may represent an alternative to the traditional family structure.

If alienated adolescents are inclined to deviant behavior like gang membership, then the results of the study have direct implications for middle school educators. Middle schools can increase student participation in meaningful ways by: allowing students to be a part of a site base decision-making team; enabling students to feel a sense of self-empowerment to steer their educational needs; setting up a student judicial system; permitting students to participate in the rules and goals of the school; and setting up meaningful mentor partnerships between students and significant adults. The possibilities are limitless if middle level educators are willing to take a chance on students for the sake of students.

The results of this study shed insight into gang membership and its relationship to adolescent alienation. This understanding is not only important to middle educators, but to the community at-large because adolescent alienation and its negative correlates start during middle school. The challenge for middle educators is to create a learning environment which minimizes adolescent alienation. There is no single panacea or remedy that will cure the alienating nature of certain school practices. Consequently, middle educators who wish to enhance the learning environment for adolescents should examine the issues discussed in this article

and formulate customized responses to minimize the effects of alienation.

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Table 1

Frequency and Percent of Selected Demographic Characteristics of Study Participants (N = 147)

Characteristics	N	%
Gender		
Female	80	54.42
Male	67	45.58
Ethnicity		
Anglo	26	17.69
Hispanic	116	79.91
Other	5	3.40
Gang Affiliation		
Yes	27	18.36
No	120	81.64
Gender of Gang Members		
Female	14	51.85
Male	13	48.15
Ethnicity of Gang Members		
Anglo	1	3.70
Hispanic	26	96.30

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations based on Gender

	Total Alienation		Isolation		Normlessness**		Powerlessness	
Group	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Female	59.64	11.93	23.01	5.42	13.21	4.41	23.44	5.27
Male	62.64	10.34	23.75	4.92	15.33	4.52	23.57	4.88

Note. The number of female and male participants was 80 and 67, respectively.

**p < .01.

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations based on Ethnicity

	Total Alienation		Isolation		Normlessness		Powerlessness*	
Group	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Anglo	58.58	15.73	23.92	5.46	13.39	6.13	21.27	7.31
Hispanic	61.85	10.09	23.35	5.11	14.48	4.11	24.03	4.40
Other	54.20	7.98	20.20	5.89	11.20	4.92	22.80	3.11

Note. The number of Anglo, Hispanic, and Other participants was 31 , 116, and 5, respectively.

*$p < .05$.

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations based on Gang Membership

	Total Alienation*		Isolation		Normlessness		Powerlessness*	
Group	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Gang	64.93	9.22	24.70	5.41	14.96	3.98	25.26	4.74
Non-Gang	60.13	11.56	23.04	5.12	14.00	4.69	23.10	5.08

Note. The number of gang and non-gang participants was 27 and 116, respectively (4 participants did not identify their answer).

*$p < .05$.

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations based on Gang Desirability

	Total Alienation*		Isolation		Normlessness*		Powerlessness*	
Group	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
"Wannabes"	65.81	9.06	24.19	4.42	16.19	4.69	25.42	4.30
No	59.98	11.49	23.17	5.34	13.74	4.45	23.08	5.15

Note. The number of participants indicating their desirability to be in a gang versus not to be in a gang was 26 and 121, respectively.

*$p < .05$.

Table 6

Means and Standard Deviations based on Friends in Gangs

	Total Alienation		Isolation		Normlessness		Powerlessness*	
Group	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Yes	61.61	10.92	23.18	5.16	14.44	4.64	24.02	4.92
No	58.91	12.43	23.94	5.35	13.27	4.26	21.70	5.28

Note. The number of participants who have friends in gangs versus those who do not have friends in gangs was 114 and 33, respectively.

*$p < .05$.

Table 7

Means and Standard Deviations based on Knowledge of Gangs

	Total Alienation**		Isolation		Normlessness**		Powerlessness*	
Group	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Extensive	62.97	11.33	23.69	5.37	14.94	4.70	24.33	5.17
Limited	57.91	10.61	22.81	4.91	12.97	4.12	22.18	4.67

Note. The number of participants who had extensive knowledge of gangs versus those who had limited knowledge of gangs was 90 and 57, respectively.

*$p < .05$. **$p \leq .01$.